LANDSCAPE AS INDIGENOUS SPACE: SOVEREIGNTY AND INDIGENEITY IN URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Although urban environments have been characterized as alienating to everyone, the level of displacement for many Indigenous peoples goes beyond that experienced by non-Indigenous peoples, in part because some Indigenous individuals are in fact locals made foreign through urbanization. This thesis explores how displaced Indigenous peoples have begun to appropriate the urban environment, and it relates that work to sovereignty.

Throughout the United States and Canada today, there are many examples of buildings designed by architects to suit the interests and needs of Indigenous peoples. Have those structures done anything for Indigenous sovereignty? Do they embody or reinforce indigeneity more than do other, generic structures?

Settler colonialism has long equated indigenous sovereignty with "self-determination," and the governments of the United States and Canada have reinforced that understanding through policies of recognition and reconciliation. This thesis considers three alternative approaches—refusal, resentment, and tradition—and how those are conceived spatially. An analysis of five indigenous spaces in Winnipeg, Canada, then shows how indigeneity and sovereignty are represented or embodied through specific works in the contemporary built environment.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

In the United States and Canada, significant populations of Indigenous peoples are now living in urban environments, many of them in a displaced mode. Although urban environments have been characterized as alienating to everyone, the level of displacement for many Indigenous peoples goes beyond that experienced by non-Indigenous peoples, in part because some Indigenous individuals are in fact locals made foreign through urbanization. This thesis explores how displaced Indigenous peoples have begun to appropriate the urban environment, and it relates that work to sovereignty. As a response to alienation, Indigenous peoples have become more active in defining the spaces they inhabit. To help accomplish that, architecture has been engaged as a way to create spaces that better resonate with Indigenous peoples. Throughout the United States and Canada today, there are many examples of buildings designed by architects to suit the interests and needs of Indigenous peoples. Have those structures done anything for Indigenous sovereignty? Do they embody or reinforce indigeneity more than do other, generic structures? Many of the aforementioned structures use markers of indigenity intended to communicate understandings of indigeneity by representing that condition symbolically. These markers typically consist of elements such as materials, colors, spiritually significant

shapes, and abstractions of traditional, Indigenous built forms.

To better understand the capacity of architecture to approach and support indigeneity and indigenous sovereignty, my research explores the relationship between architecture and landscape and frames their interrelation as a dialectic parallel to settler colonialism. The correlation between architecture (as object, closed system, or structural paradigm) and landscape (as situated event, open system, or dynamic paradigm) can be theorized as a path to understanding and asserting the potentials of architecture and landscape (architecture) relative to indigeneity and indigenous sovereignty.

Chapter 2: Fundamental Concepts

Indigeneity is not a concept that can be fixed, as doing so would reduce it to nativism: "How shall 'I' say I am human and at the same time different without resorting to stereotypes or to a return to the past? [...] Or without always preoccupying ourselves with the colonizers yearnings for primitivistic authenticity." (LaRocque, 2010) Instead, indigeneity is historically contingent. For example, Taiaike Alfred (Bear Clan Mohawk) and Jeff Corntassel (Cherokee) put forward a definition of "indigenous" peoples as "Indigenous to the lands they inhabit, in contrast to and in contention with the colonial societies and states that have spread out from Europe and other centres of empire." (Alfred and Corntassel, 2005) Although this explanation aids our comprehension of indigeneity, it is neither comprehensive nor universally applicable.

Settler colonialism is the paradigm through which the built environment has been organized in the United States and Canada. It is therefore both the structure and the mechanism through which the relationship between architecture and landscape (architecture) must be understood in those territories. At its core, settler colonialism is a fragile state constantly threatened with disruption or collapse through the continued presence of indigenous peoples. Patrick Wolfe described it as a non-temporal condition: "as I put it, settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event." (Wolfe, 2006) That idea runs counter to the familiar narratives of colonialism, which frame it as a moment of history that, although unfortunate in its effects, is set firmly in the past. Wolfe's understanding of settler colonialism acknowledges that the project has never stopped, since the structure remains in place. Consequently, it continues to make victims of Indigenous peoples in the territories today known as the United States and Canada.

Understanding settler colonialism as a structure rather than as an event has informed my investigation into the relationship between architecture and landscape (architecture) and the relevance of those two disciplines to indigenous sovereignty.

Specifically, architecture (structure) is framed as a colonizer of landscape (event). That understanding is in keeping with ideas about the genesis of each discipline and, importantly, the precedence of one relative to the other. Francesco Careri, an architect and theorist, describes the genesis of architecture as an encapsulation of landscape, which preceded it: "a rhythmical space, geometrically defined, that represents the first architecture […] a "space of going" and therefore not a "space of staying."" (Careri, 2002) (See figure 2.)

Figure 2 - Alignment of Carnac, Brittany, France Image credit: Louis Bourdon

When considering how architecture and landscape interrelate in the urban context, architecture can be understood as the "space of staying" and landscape (architecture) as the "space of going." Following Careri's model, this frames landscape (architecture) as preceding architecture. Conceiving architecture as the enclosure of landscape, rather than as the creation of interior space, is in keeping with our understanding of landscape as colonized by architecture. Examples of this can be places of going within architecture, such as hallway and atrium spaces.

Landscape (architecture), considered here as a colonized field—and therefore as one whose domain has been usurped or challenged—has only recently begun to reassert

its own sovereignty. Recent disciplinary dialogues such as those surrounding landscape urbanism demonstrate that turn through attempts to challenge the contemporary roles, scopes, and products of architecture and landscape (architecture).

But what is meant by sovereignty? Like indigeneity, sovereignty is historically contingent and has no fixed meaning. Lenape scholar Joanne Barker describes that condition as follows: "there is no fixed meaning for what sovereignty is — what it means by definition, what it implies in public debate […] is embedded within the specific social relations in which it is invoked and given meaning." (Barker, 2005) In western thought, sovereignty has been studied, defined, and further defined since antiquity, such that, in historical terms, a singular and clear understanding is not possible. Wendy Brown has generalized the key aspects of sovereignty, which come through most consistently in practice and in existing definitions, as "supremacy, perpetuity over time, no boundedness by or submission to law, absoluteness and completeness, has specified jurisdiction and it cannot be conferred without cancelling itself." (Brown, 2010)

The clearest connection between western understandings of sovereignty and the dialogue between architecture and landscape (architecture) comes when describing how sovereignty is obtained. According to philosopher and political theorist Carl Schmitt, the process of acquiring sovereignty is dependent on land: "In every case, land appropriation, both internally (within the land appropriating group) and externally (outside the land appropriating group), is the primary legal title that underlies all subsequent law." (Schmitt, 2003) This is the interpretation of sovereignty at play throughout the period of nascent colonization in North America, where land was correlated to ownership and thus to sovereignty, helping to "legally" disenfranchise Indigenous peoples from the possibility of sovereignty in those terms.

Whereas "sovereignty" is defined by those whose lives are dependent on or affected by it, and "indigeneity" is necessarily without strict definition as it is historically contingent,

"indigenous sovereignty" is co-defined by the competing interests of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. The settler colonial state has over many years attempted to equate indigenous sovereignty with "self-determination." Self-determination serves settler colonialism because it is allowed to confer jurisdiction to Indigenous peoples over certain political/administrative domains. Through this act, one becomes the subject of the other, indigenous peoples trading sovereignty for the ability to operate seamlessly within settler colonial systems and society as another ethnicity that together with other ethnicities define a particular settler colonial state. To arrive there, the governments of the United States and Canada have deployed concepts such as recognition (of land, language, and cultural rights) and reconciliation (of "past" wrongs on the part of the nation state), expressed most publicly in Canada through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the following public apology given by Prime Minister Stephen Harper on behalf of the government of Canada:

> In moving towards healing, reconciliation and resolution of the sad legacy of Indian Residential Schools, implementation of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement began on September 19,2007. [. . .] It will be a positive step in forging a new relationship between Aboriginal peoples and other Canadians, a relationship based on the knowledge of our shared history, a respect for each other and a desire to move forward together with a renewed understanding that strong families, strong communities and vibrant cultures and traditions will contribute to a stronger Canada for all of us. (Harper, 2008)

Although some Indigenous peoples have elected to pursue "self-determination," others challenge such beliefs and have posited alternatives. Kahnawake Mohawk anthropologist Audra Simpson posits that the experience of her community of Kahnawake and other indigenous peoples should confirm that sovereignty may exist within sovereignty. For example the Haudenosaunee confederacy (Onandaga, Mohawk, Seneca, Oneida, Tuscarora and Cayuga) passport, a document not formally recognized by Canada or the United States, has been used for travel by the Haudenosaunee since

1923. In 2010, the Iroquois Nationals Lacrosse team was forced to drop out of the World Lacrosse Championships as the document was not recognized for travel. (Smith, 2010) This refusal to be identified by travel documents issued by either Canada or the United States and instead to use their own passport calls into question the boundaries and lawfulness of the "encompassing" territorial referent (i.e., Canada or United States): "one does not negate the other entirely but they necessarily stand in terrific tension and pose jurisdictional and normative challenges to each other." (Simpson, 2012) According to Simpson,

> [t]here is a political alternative to recognition […]. This alternative is refusal [and it] comes with the requirement of having one's political sovereignty and nationhood acknowledged and upheld and raises the question of legitimacy of those who are usually in the position to recognize. (Simpson, 2012)

Figure 3 - Haudenosaunee Passport Image credit: Bebeto Matthews

A second alternative to recognition or reconciliation and resultant self-determination is resentment, as described by Yellowknives Dene political theorist and educator Glen Coulthard. In a presentation given in 2011, Coulthard posited resentment

as "the initial stages of the colonized subjects coming to consciousness" and argued that it would "prompt the very forms of indigenous praxis that are required to uproot the structural colonial institutions that produced colonized and resenting subjects to begin with." (Coulthard, 2011) In the same presentation, he paraphrased the work of philosopher Robert Solomon, stating, "Our greatest critics and commentators are men and women of resentment […]. In an age fundamentally deprived of passion, they alone have the one emotional motive: constant and obsessive, slow burning but totally dependable, through resentment they get shit done." (Solomon, 1990)

A third alternative to recognition and reconciliation has been described by Taiaiake Alfred, who challenges the validity of utilizing the concept of sovereignty at all. He writes, "few people have questioned how a European term and idea […] came to be so embedded and important […]. Fewer still have questioned the implications of […] using it to structure the systems that are being negotiated and implemented within indigenous communities today." (Alfred, 2005) Alfred believes that a renewed familiarity with traditional indigenous practices can become a source of strength and is a "key element in restoring the necessary harmony between social and political cultures in Native societies." He further states:

> A crucial feature of the indigenous concept of governance is its respect for individual autonomy. This respect precludes the notion of 'sovereignty' – the idea that there can be a permanent transference of power or authority from the individual to an abstraction of the collective called 'government'. The indigenous tradition sees government as the collective power of the individual members of the nation; there is no separation between society an state. (Alfred, 1999)

Chapter 3: Direction

Building on the conceptual boundaries for indigeneity, sovereignty, and indigenous sovereignty outlined above, architecture can be understood as a colonial practice relative to landscape (architecture). Nevertheless, both architecture and landscape (architecture) have potential to work in support of sovereignty for Indigenous peoples in urban environments.

To better illustrate the conceptual links between 1) settler colonialism and 2) the relationship between architecture and landscape (architecture), it is helpful to spatialize the framework through which those concepts and conditions are understood. As an object, a closed system, a structural paradigm, or a "place of staying," architecture can be understood as inward looking. In contrast, landscape (architecture) is a situated event, an open system, a dynamic paradigm, or a "place of going," and it can therefore be understood as outward looking.

The distinct approaches to indigenous sovereignty introduced above of refusal, resentment, or tradition and how they are conceived spatially are the subject explored herein. The analysis of 5 indigenous spaces that follows examines how these concepts are represented or embodied through design of the built environment.

Chapter 4: Analysis

To ground and test this inquiry concerning the architecture and "indigenous sovereignty," five recent buildings, each understood as an indigenous space in its local context, were analyzed. All five are located in Winnipeg, Canada, and were visited and photographed by during summer 2013. The selected sites are a representative sample of the typologies characteristic of contemporary indigenous urban space. Some are outwardly showy in their purpose and others are fairly nondescript or subtle. The selected sites are:

- Indian and Metis Friendship Centre, 45 Robinson St.
- Aboriginal Funeral Chapel, 724 Selkirk Ave.
- Circle of Life Thunderbird House, 715 Main St.
- Migizii Agamik, Aboriginal Student Centre, University of Manitoba, 114 Sidney Smith St.
- Long Plain FN Urban Reserve, bounded by Kensington St., St. Matthews Ave., Madison St., and Silver Ave.

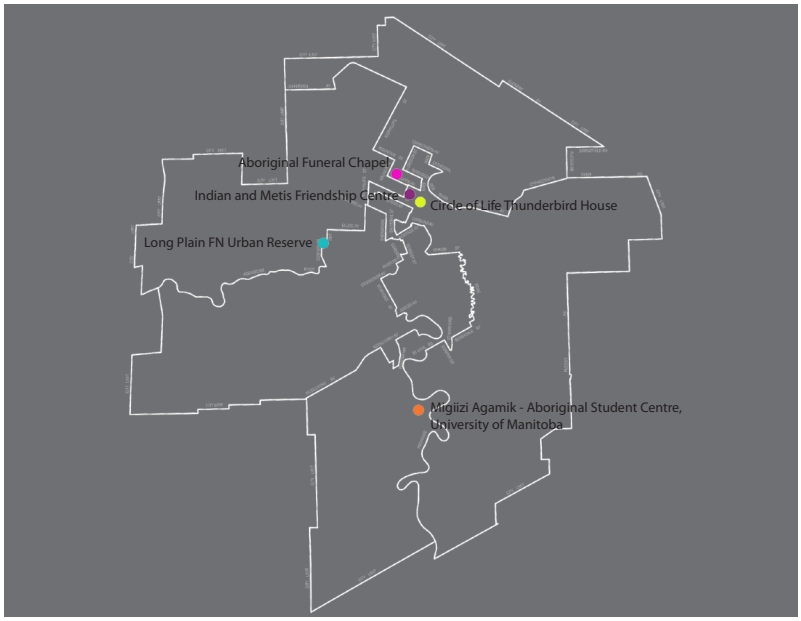

Figure 4 - Map of Selected sites, Winnipeg

Each of these sites was considered visually from the outside to understand how external form relates to both context and program, as well as how those aspects relate to purpose, semiotics, and indigenous sovereignty. The visual survey considered whether indigeneity is explicitly articulated in how these buildings are commissioned or made to look.

Indian and Metis Friendship Centre

Figure 5 - Aerial view of IMFC and surrounding context Image credit: Google Maps

Context

The Indian and Metis Friendship Centre (IMFC) is located in the Lord Selkirk Park neighborhood of Winnipeg, which is in turn part of the Point Douglas South Neighbourhood Cluster. (City of Winnipeg, 2014) This area is also part of the "North End"

of Winnipeg. Although the city has grown considerably farther north of the "North End," this loosely defined urban area still has a powerful impact on Winnipeg, both historically and contemporarily. (Galston, 2012) In recent years, it has been home to immigrants just arrived from Europe as well as to the industries that benefitted from their labor. Today, that condition persists in so far as it pertains to population; according to the 2011 Canadian census, the census tract within which the IMFC is located still includes a significant immigrant population. The tract's population counts 20 to <50% as "Population with an immigrant language as mother tongue" and 10 to <20% as "Population with an immigrant language spoken most often at home." (Statistics Canada, 2012) In the 2006 Canadian census it is shown to be 28.8 to 47.9% "Immigrants as a % of total population." Also, the percent of visible minorities is 10 to 19. (Statistics Canada, 2007)

The Indian and Metis Friendship Centre is located within a low income neighborhood, as assessed both before and after tax. In the 2006 census tract, the % of Population in Low Income Before Tax in 2005 was >= 37.9 %, and the % of Population in Low Income After Tax in 2005 was >= to 33%. (Statistics Canada, 2007) To better contextualize those numbers, it should be noted that a large portion of the census tract described above is the site of a Manitoba Housing Complex, Lord Selkirk Park Housing Development. This publicly run housing project, administered by the Provincial government, has gone through a renovation within the past two years, including restoration of the facades and complete renovation of the interiors. (Kursch, 2010)

Figure 6 - Indian & Metis Friendship Centre

Description

Established in 1959, the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre of Winnipeg was the first such organization in Canada, and it has been at its current location since 1992. The building is nondescript, looking very much like a former warehouse or place of industry. It is single story, and its exterior is characterized by a single material condition: dark grey metal siding that looks almost black at times. A white metal material similar to the siding marks the corners of the building and the roofline. The building as a whole is framed by a lawn on the north side and a parking lot on the east side. There are very few markers of indigeneity that would set this building apart from others. Of those being considered, the placement of the IMFC's logo on an elevated sign adjacent to the structure is the only one. The logo is composed of a circle split into 4 quadrants. In two of those quadrants are

extended hands, placed diagonally so that the interpretation is of "giving a hand up," and in the other two, a representation of several teepees (top left) and a city skyline (bottom right). This circle is framed by the profiles of two Indigenous males facing outward. They both appear to have feathers in their hair that point downward, following the hairline above the ear. Aside from the IMFC logo, the surrounding neighborhood helps define this structure as Indigenous as it has a highly visible Indigenous population, which for many non-residents lends it a distinct character.

From these observations, as a marker of territory in the western understanding of sovereignty, this structure does very little as the level of distinctness is low and very much reminiscent of many other warehouse/industrial use buildings in the vicinity. As there is only a single marker, from the exterior all that would need to change for this space to become visibly non-indigenous would be a new sign.

Considering its impact on indigenous sovereignty, it does not clearly demonstrate a following of any of the modes identified as the structure encapsulates the practice of community but does not itself do anything to help or hinder. It is instead an example of recognition as this encapsulated space of self-determination provides a locale for the praxis of indigeneity but is not itself permanently attached to that program. It is a stepping stone or guide for those looking to better understand how to live in the city as opposed to the reserve, but it is also as a place where the local urban Indigenous community can meet and socialize, mitigating the effects of settler colonialism.

The Aboriginal Funeral Chapel

Figure 7 - Aerial view of AFC and its surrounding context. Image credit: Google Maps

Context

The Aboriginal Funeral Chapel, a business located at the corner of Selkirk Avenue and Parr Street, is part of the William Whyte neighborhood, which is in turn part of the Point Douglas South Neighbourhood Cluster. (City of Winnipeg, 2014) Selkirk Avenue is the historic Main Street of the "North End," and vestiges of that past are visible all along its length. The Aboriginal Funeral Chapel is kitty-corner to Hadeda Convenience Store and across the street from a small townhouse development. The percent of population in Low Income Before Tax in 2005 in the surrounding census tract was >= 37.9. After Tax, the percent of the population in low income in 2005 was >= 33.

The Aboriginal Funeral Chapel is very much within the "North End" of Winnipeg,

and that condition is demonstrated by the percent of visible minorities—10% to 19% (Statistics Canada, 2007)—as well as the percent of population with immigrant language spoken most regularly at home—10% to <20% (Statistics Canada, 2012). This area of the city has seen a population change from 2006 to 2011 of 0 to <5.9%.

Figure 8 - Aboriginal Funeral Chapel

Description

The Aboriginal Funeral Chapel began operating in 1991 and is available for use 24 hours a day to accommodate traditional evening and overnight wakes. The exterior of this building has a stucco finish that is almost white, except for the east facing wall, which has a mural on it. The mural is of a northern landscape as characterized by the imagery depicted: a lake and coniferous forest, at the center of which stands a large teepee. Overlaid on this scene are four other images, each a combination of an animal

and a human seemingly representing a spiritual entity. In the Winnipeg context, as in many other places in North America, the colors most often associated with Indigenous peoples are black, white, red and yellow. The awnings do not exhibit any of these colors; however, they do display another exterior marker of indigeneity, the symbolism used in the logo. The awnings display the words "Aboriginal Funeral Chapel" and feature a drawing of an eagle about to take flight with wings drawn so that they envelope the text in their embrace. The eagle is readily accepted as an animal associated with Indigenous peoples, and depictions of it can also be found on the mural.

Figure 9 - Mural, east exterior wall of the Aboriginal Funeral Chapel

As at the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre, the indigeneity of the Aboriginal Funeral Chapel is supported by context. Surrounded by a neighborhood that is both the location of various Indigenous businesses, agencies, and organizations and home to a visible population of Indigenous peoples, the Chapel is given more consideration as Indigenous due to its location in the city.

With regard to Indigenous sovereignty, the IMFC does little in terms of refusal or resentment. It conforms to the existing aesthetic and street grid, which is not surprising as this structure existed prior to its use as the Aboriginal Funeral Chapel. However, it encapsulates the space for a program that had not been previously accommodated in

the city, allowing for traditional wakes and funeral services within Winnipeg. In terms of sovereignty, that relationship is not predicated on either refusal or resentment. Instead, the building accommodates elements of self-determination as through recognition. It allows indigenous peoples to more "freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development […]." (UN General Assembly, 2008)

The Circle of Life Thunderbird House

Figure 10 - Aerial view of the Circle of Life Thunderbird House Image credit: Google Maps

Context

The Circle of Life Thunderbird House is located on the southeast corner of the intersection of Main Street and Higgins Avenue on the northern edge of Winnipeg's downtown. It is part of the Civic Centre neighborhood, which is in turn part of the

Downtown East Neighbourhood Cluster. (City of Winnipeg , 2014) This corner is infamous for the historical legacy of poverty still visible to commuters coming in and out of downtown at its northern and northeastern edges. (Galston, 2007) Many consider the stretch of Main Street between Higgins and Logan Avenues as an "eyesore" for Winnipeg's downtown, especially as one enters the downtown after crossing through the threshold between the North End and downtown, the historic CN Rail underpass. The underpass acts as the entrance for rail traffic to the North End Railyards, and historically it has been the primary divider between the North End and the rest of the city. (Walsh, 2012)

In terms of income, this census tract is somewhat similar to that surrounding both the Aboriginal Funeral Home and The Indian and Metis Friendship Centre. The percent of the population in Low Income before Tax in 2005 is 23.5 to 37.8, and the percent of the population in Low Income After Tax in 2005 is 20 to 32.9. (Statistics Canada, 2007) Key to understanding the context of these and other figures to follow is that the immediate vicinity of the building is characterized by service providers and offices with very few permanent residents with addresses in the census tract. This explains the divergence in percent of visible minorities, which sits at <= 9, which may appear odd given the surrounding census tract figures which vary from 20 to >= 30 percent. (Statistics Canada, 2007) Many of the service providers are engaged in serving the homeless, mentally ill, hungry, and/or intoxicated. In the vicinity of Thunderbird House, one can observe the visible side of Indigenous poverty and lack of sovereignty. More recently, the 2011 census shows the percent of population change between 2006 and 2011 as >= 17.7. This is due to the recent surge in condominium construction along the waterfront, which has recently been the major focus of investment in downtown Winnipeg. (McNeil, 2011)

Figure 11 - The Circle of Life Thunderbird House

Description

The Circle of Life Thunderbird House is a relatively recent construction, completed in 2000 and designed by architect Douglas Cardinal, born of Métis and Blackfoot heritage. This structure is intended to demonstrate indigeneity in its form and orientation as well as in its materiality. It also appears to have been only part of a much grander proposal, one which would have transformed Main Street but never materialized.

The exterior is influenced by the overall shape of the structure, which reads as a circle in plan. The color palate is warm and reminiscent of the colors of wood. The roof is clad in copper and is now a mixture of its original colour and green patina. The roof is shaped to represent the Thunderbird, a creature from Cree belief that is a protector of animals and is responsible for both thunder and lightning. Timbers act as columns

surrounding the façade interspersed with large windows. The interior program is very much spiritual as it features a fire pit that is only used during the solstice and equinox celebrations. To access the interior, there are four entrances that were placed so each face a different cardinal direction; this is intended to acknowledge Indigenous spiritual belief that each direction has a human personality, a season, and a stage of life, along with several other associations. (Routes on the Red - Chemins de la Rouge, 2006)

Figure 12 - The fire pit (covered) inside the Circle of Life Thunderbird House

The Circle of Life Thunderbird House conforms to a western understanding of sovereignty, as a claiming of territory through the establishment of something distinct and in defiance, in this case aesthetically, of what surrounds it. The shape of the building contrasts with the surrounding structures, with exception of the associated sweat lodge building (designed and built later) which is fashioned to simulate a teepee in appearance. In so far as a building is a lasting marker of presence, this is a more permanent stake of location and identity than a sign, such as the one at the Indian and Metis Friendship Centre.

Among the five buildings analyzed, the Circle of Life Thunderbird House seems to characterize refusal most closely from an aesthetic point of view but also from a land use

perspective. The way in which the building is sited does not conform to the existing street edge. Most of the other buildings have entrances fronting directly on the sidewalk along Main Street, and all have built right to the sidewalk. In the case of the Thunderbird House, there is a setback, and paths extend to the entrances and encircle the building.

Migizii Agamik, Aboriginal Student Centre

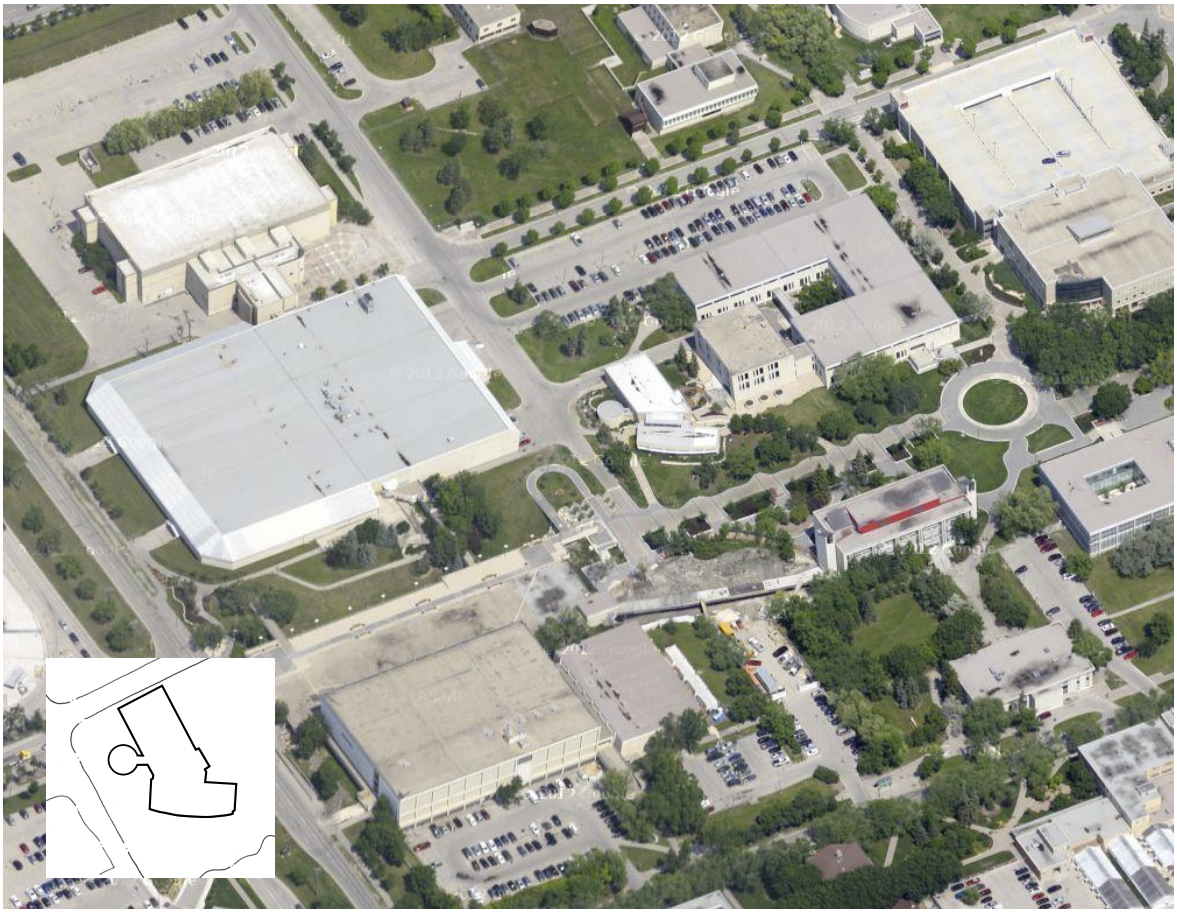

Figure 13 - Aerial view of Migizii Agamik and surrounding context Image credit: Google Maps

Context

This structure is located on the University of Manitoba Campus, between the Education Building and the Max Bell Centre along the north side University of Manitoba Pedestrian Mall (Curry Place). It is part of the University neighborhood, which is part of the Fort Garry South Neighbourhood Cluster. (City of Winnipeg, 2014) This is one of the

most recent examples of Indigenous architecture in Winnipeg, having been completed in 2008. As this structure is found on a university campus, the census tract data needs to be further interpreted. The percent of population in Low Income Before Tax in 2005 was 20 to 32.9. The percent of population in Low Income After Tax in 2005 was 23.5 to 37.8. (Statistics Canada, 2007) What should be noted here is that the surrounding neighborhoods and corresponding census tracts are relatively affluent. The majority of adjacent census tracts have a percent of the population in Low Income Before Tax in 2005 at <= 12.6; after tax it is <= 10.3. (Statistics Canada, 2007) The percent of visible minorities in the census tract within which the structure is located is >= 30. That, however, is not a marker of a social/economic situation similar to the one demonstrated in the North End examples given previously. In this area, a good portion of the edges adjacent to this census tract are mainly apartment buildings catering to university students and especially to international students with no initial means of independent transportation. Those students tend to opt for proximity to campus, ahead of lower rents. The University of Manitoba is a suburban campus, and, although served by public transit, it is not in an area of the city with a density friendly to pedestrians. (Petz, 2009)

Figure 14 - Main entrance, Migizii Agamik Image credit: Prairie Architects

Description

Migizii Agamik Aboriginal, Student Centre (MGASC) is a structure designed through "an Integrated Design Process [that] involved Aboriginal designers, representatives, and Elders, so that this facility would meet the needs of and celebrate the contributions of Aboriginal students in the community." (Prairie Architects) Rated LEED Gold and opened in 2008, this building is the most recent example of the buildings studied herein. This building is very much attempting to remain distinct while still relating to the existing architecture of the Education Building to the east and the Max Bell Centre to the west, both of which are clad in Tyndall stone with differing finishes. The predominant exterior condition of the MGASC is a mixture of Tyndall stone and brick, earthen tone in color. It is primarily split so that the Tyndall stone wall material is what extends from the connection

with the land, and that condition makes way for a non-uniform brick pattern that predominates upwards towards the roof line. The varied placement and color of bricks helps to make the MGASC distinct among the other buildings also clad in Tyndall. Also along material lines the inclusion of 7 exposed timbers, an abstracted representation of several traditional teachings, along the east-west axis is certainly an attempt to bring a part of the natural world into the building. This is further articulated as the timbers mark a trajectory moving from the outside to the inside and back out again.

Figure 15 - Exterior condition, western wall of Migizii Agamik Image credit: Affinity

Given the above observations, the MGASC would perform the work of enacting a sort of western sovereignty through the use of subtle yet visible markers of indigeneity. This othering of the building from its nearest neighbors also begins to demarcate territory through its usurpation of landscape. However as the detailing on the exterior cladding, particularly the brick work and Tyndall stone, are being used to create a sense of distinctness while remaining cognizant of the established material language of its context, this building is not necessarily working with concepts of refusal, resentment or tradition. Instead, it allows for an extension of self-determination within the already established superstructure of the university campus.

Long Plain FN Urban Reserve

Figure 16 - Aerial view of the Urban Reserve and surrounding context Image credit: Google Maps

Context

The Long Plain FN Urban Reserve is a political structure that, at the time of writing, is still in the nascent stages of development. Of all the selected examples, this one stands out as both physical and non-physical in nature; it is a collection of buildings bounded by a political boundary or landscape. The urban reserve, in the Canadian context, is essentially a bounded property within a municipality with exemptions applied similar to those of reserve lands (reservation lands in the US), particularly with regards to taxation on commerce and delivery of goods. The main difference between these and other reserves is that the agreements through which they are constituted also require the negotiation of service contracts with the municipality for the provision of power, water, sewer, and

police and fire/paramedic support, among other basic services. On reserve land, the only party with whom Indigenous Peoples (First Nations in Canada) need to negotiate is the Federal Government.

The Long Plain FN Urban Reserve, bounded by Madison St. on the east, Silver Ave on the south, Kensington St. on the west, St. Matthews on the North, is part of the St. James Industrial neighborhood, which is in turn part of the St. James-Assiniboia East Neighbourhood Cluster. (City of Winnipeg, 2014) This urban reserve is is adjacent to the busiest and still most profitable commercial districts in Winnipeg, as well as to the Polo Park shopping mall, the largest in Winnipeg. (Kirbyson, 2013) As much of the area is characterized by commercial development, the number of permanent residents is lower than the North End examples but similar to the Campus example, Migizii Agamik. The percent of population in Low Income Before Tax in 2005 was 12.7 to 23.4; After Tax was 10.4 to 19.9. The census tract straddles a significant, 6-lane arterial road running north-south. That road is the boundary between the Polo Park neighborhood (commercial/office district) and the King Edward neighborhood (residential). Due to that, the percent of visible minorities is 10 to 19, essentially representing a median level between adjacencies; <= 9 percent in the residential neighbourhood and >= 20-29 in the commercial/office neighborhood of Polo Park.

Figure 17 - Yellowquill College building, looking south along Madison Image credit: Google Maps

Description

Unlike the other examples studied herein, the Long Plain FN Urban Reserve is primarily a political or landscape boundary. As it is the result of a land purchase and negotiation process, the buildings on the property were built before designation as an urban reserve do not bear any significance for indigeneity, with a couple exceptions. The primary exception pertains to the relocation of Yellowquill College, which took up residence in the former Manitoba Hydro office building. That structure runs north-south and is two stories tall. As part of the relocation process, which preceded the conferral of urban reserve status, the existing building was renovated inside and out. (Prepost, 2012) The renovations to the exterior were primarily the changing of windows, a new paint scheme, and the application of metal sheeting that has the appearance of shingles when

seen from a distance. This sheeting is applied in a manner that accentuates the roofline and frames the College's logo next to the main entrance to the building. None of the materials used on the exterior of the building would necessarily be considered natural or indigenous in intention. The only marker of indigeneity on the building is found in the logo for the college and could be considered an abstraction and not exclusively indigenous. It includes a yellow quill feather overlaid at a 45-degree angle on a blue shield, a literal representation of the schools name. Locally, the use of feathers would certainly be associated with Indigenous peoples, as they are used in smudging ceremonies and in the traditional dress of local Indigenous peoples, as seen at ceremonies and other cultural events throughout the year. The other structure that communicates a kind of indigeneity is a trailer located just south of the College building. The trailer is a business that sells cigarettes. The nondescript appearance of corrugated metal is further enhanced by the affixed signage indicating the trailer's purpose; the words "SMOKE SHOP" are written on the trailer's south facing side. Although this structure is not necessarily indigenous, it reinforces a common stereotype of the living condition/situations on most Reserves. It is a representation that many non-indigenous would understand as at least appearing indigenous, and a direct result of the political status of the land immediately underneath the structure.

The urban reserve and, for the most part, the structures within it do not stand out from their surroundings in a forceful manner. There are no direct barriers that did not exist prior to the conferral of reserve status, nor are the current buildings made to look in a way that significantly disregards the adjacent structures. Unlike other examples, the urban reserve is not surrounded by a large community of Indigenous peoples, and, as a result, it blends seamlessly into the surrounding context. Although visibly seamless, it is unique in that it still could be considered as doing the work of western sovereignty. It is a tract of land newly set up as distinct from the parcels immediately adjacent, so although

the structures appear similar, they operate according to different regulations.

Considering the concepts of refusal, resentment and tradition, it would seem that all are set aside in pursuit of reconciliation through the extinguishing of outstanding land claims and the conferral of urban reserve status. Also, given the inclusion of Yellowquill College on the property, it is clear that this political boundary encourages modes of self-determination and does not seek sovereignty, either in its western or indigenous practice.

Figure 18 - Yellowquill College building, looking north along Madison Image credit: Google Maps

Chapter 5: Practice Re-considered

Figure 19 - Wahbung Abinoonjiiag, domestic violence prevention center for children and their families

Further considering the role of architecture and landscape (architecture) relative to analysis of the buildings studied in this thesis, it would seem that both disciplines have potential to support indigenous sovereignty, depending on the desired approaches and outcomes. Many of the buildings are functioning at multiple levels, considering differences between the outward intention of the building versus the program it encloses. In many instances, the program, the interior condition, or the space where indigeneity happens or exists is not dependent on the outward expression and how it represents or embodies notions of indigenous sovereignty. Above, many of the structures considered were found primarily to support self-determination and not the concept of indigenous sovereignty necessarily. If what is indigenous is the practice of being indigenous, or alternatively just living, in some way then the structure is of less value to indigeneity than is suggested by much of the recent design today. Craig Howe (Lakota), Director of the

Centre of American Indian Research and Native Studies, has studied and developed the design of indigenous architecture with specific focus on Lakota spirituality. In his research he describes five architectures: Individualist, Indian, Indigenous, Nationalist, and Tribal, concluding that Tribal is the most preferred and describing the four dimensions of Tribal Architecture as Spatial, Social, Spiritual, and Experiential. In a lecture at the University of Illinois, he presented at length about the importance of the space enclosed within the built features of architecture and showed an example of what he considered successful tribal architecture. The images were of the grounds used for certain practices such as the Sundance or powwow. The amount of actual structure framing the grounds was in fact minimal: just enough to demarcate an entryway and denote where attendees might gather. Referencing it, Howe concluded that "the most important architecture, its all about space not about built form." (Howe, 2014) This would corroborate, in many ways the observations of the buildings studied herein.

Figure 20 - Pow wow arbor and grounds Image credit: Katlyn Richter

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Depending on the desired outcome, Indigenous peoples can choose either architecture or landscape (architecture) as a vehicle through which to express or assert indigenous sovereignty. Architecture allows for the articulation of the concept of sovereignty in terms of both western and indigenous praxis.

It is clear that, like western notions of sovereignty, the appropriation of land is fundamental to any architecture project. However, it also does work at the site of both refusal and resentment, as those are responses to structures and, in the act, acknowledge and consequently demonstrate an attachment to said structures.

The alternative would be to act completely indifferent to the imposed settler colonialist structure: essentially, disregarding the concept of sovereignty, and instead opting for tradition as suggested by Taiaiake Alfred and others, but, in so doing, turning increasingly towards indigeneity. The challenge in such a scenario would be to remain distinct within a continuum, in keeping with the definition of landscape (architecture).

The practice of landscape architecture here then is useful but bipolar, as it is capable of creating outward looking spaces of distinction within a continuum but also of creating gardens: inward looking spaces that are by definition separate from their surroundings.

Ultimately, it is up to indigenous peoples to choose the manner in which they pursue sovereignty in the urban environment. Recognition and reconciliation appear to be the lead modes in the contemporary situation. However, if supporting indigeneity is a desired outcome of those spaces yet to be built, then an attitude of indifference towards the settler colonialist structure and its architectural articulations, characterized by reconciliation/recognition and resultant "self-determination," is the best way to accomplish that end.

Addendum: Census of Canada Data

Throughout this document, Census of Canada data has been used from both 2011 and 2006. The reasoning for this is that the information offered and the quality of the data provided by the 2011 census has been called in to question, especially at the local level. As this is the level most pertinent to this study, the 2006 census data was used to supplement the context study.

In recent years, the Census of Canada has gone through a transition from a mandatory long census to a voluntary National Household Survey(NHS). When these changes were announced by the Canadian government in July 2010, all manner of critics including economists, former government officials, charities, doctors and educators made it clear how much the private and public sector rely on the demographic details collected by the mandatory long form census. Then Industry Minister Tony Clement said the decision was based on feedback that some Canadians found the mandatory process coercive and the detailed questions intrusive.

Chief Statistician of Canada Wayne Smith acknowledges that data from the NHS is not the same as that which would be collected using a mandatory census, however he believes it is still useful:

> True, it's not a census, true, there's been some loss of small-area data and true there's more volatility in the estimates for small populations and small areas, particularly small populations in small areas. But the data turns out to be remarkably strong (Grant, 2013)

The Province of Manitoba's chief statistician Wilf Falk described the output from the NHS as likely solid at the provincial and national level, but at the local level, its accuracy is more difficult to judge. (Grant, 2013)

Another challenge for the NHS was the "widely varying non-response rates" which varied by location, among other factors. (Hulchanski, 2013) Winnipeg, where all the building studied herein are located, had a non-response rate of 26.5%. (Statistics Canada, 2012)

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